

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 PM-05 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 CIAE-00
INR-10 NSAE-00 ACDA-12 OMB-01 EB-08 TRSE-00 /071 W
-----020573 291108Z /10

P R 290930Z MAR 78
FM AMEMBASSY JAKARTA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7753
INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK
AMEMBASSY CANBERRA
AMCONSUL HONG KONG
AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR
AMEMBASSY MANILA
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON
DIA WASHDC
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 JAKARTA 4034

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: XGDS-2
TAGS: PINT, PINS, ID
SUBJECT: PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT OF NEW INDONESIAN CABINET

REF: (A) JAKARTA 3539 (DTG 170930Z MAR 78), (B) JAKARTA 4033
(DTG 290920Z MAR 78)

1. SUMMARY: FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF INDIVIDUAL QUALIFI-
CATIONS, THE NEW INDONESIAN CABINET ANNOUNCED MARCH 29 IS
IN AGGREGATE AN IMPROVEMENT OVER THE FORMER TEAM,
BUT IN NO WAY PROMISES THE DYNAMISM AND NEW DIRECTION THAT
MOST THINK SUHARTO NEEDS TO CARRY HIM THROUGH ANOTHER FIVE
EYARS. NEW CABINET COMPOSITION MAY WELL INCREASE
INTERNAL DISSENSION SINCE THE HARDLINE MINISTER OF INTERIOR

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HAS BEEN HELD OVER, UNPOPULAR PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT ALI
MURTOPO HAS BEEN GIVEN INFORMATION, ONE OF MURTOPO'S
LEAST EFFECTIVE PROTEGES HAS BEEN NAMED EDUCATION
MINISTER, THE TWO POLITICAL PARTIES HAVE BEEN GRANTED NO
CABINET SEATS, AND THE RELIGION PORTFOLIO HAS BEEN
GIVEN TO A GENERAL. THE MILITARY-TECHNOCRAT MIX AS CHANGED
SLIGHTLY IN FAVOR OF THE FORMER THE TECHNOCRAT BASE HAS BEEN

BROADNED, BUT MILITARY REPRESENTATION CONTAINS LITTLE NEW AND NO YOUNG BLOOD. EXCEPT FOR SUBROTO'S REPLACING SADLI AS MINISTER OF MINES, THE ECONOMIC TEAM. WHICH IS NOW UNDER WIDJOJO'S DE JURE AS WELL AS DE FACTO LEADERSHIP, SEEMS FROM VIEWPOINT OF U.S. INTERESTS TO BE IMPROVEMENT. FOR- TUNATELY PERHAPS, FOREIGN MINISTER MOCHTAR KUSUMAATMADJA WILL PROBABLY BE OBLIGED TO SHARE HIS OFFICE'S FORMER POWERS WITH GENERAL PANGGABEAN AND VICE PRESIDENT MALIK. END SUMMARY.

2. THE CABINET HAS WITH THE EXCLUSION OF POLITICAL PARTY REPRESENTATIVES BECOME EVEN MORE OF A MILITARY- TECHNOCRAT COALITION. THE MILITARY-CIVILIAN MIX HAS CHANGED NUMERICALLY IN FAVOR OF THE FORMER, WITH 11 MILITARY TO 13 CIVILIANS IN THE NEW CABINET COMPARED TO FOUR AND 17 IN THE OLD. THE PERCENTAGE OF PHD'S REMAINS HIGH.

3. THE OFTEN MENTIONED BERKELEY MAFIA/UNIVERSITY OF INDONESIA DOMINATION OF THE TECHNOCRAT ELEMENT OF THE CABINET HAS BEEN DILUTED BY THE ADDITION OF A PROMINENT GAJAH MADA UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR (TO AGRICULTURE), THE ELEVATION OF SEVERAL TALENTED SECOND ECHELON TECHNICIANS (TO THE INDUSTRY, PUBLIC WORKS MANPOWER AND HEALTH PORTFOLIOS) AND THE APPOINTMENT (TO EDUCATION) OF CENTRE FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES CHAIRMAN DAUD
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JUSUF, A PERSISTENT CRITIC OF THE BERKELEY GROUP.

4. THE MILITARY MEMBERSHIP OF THE CABINET SHOWS ABSOLUTELY NO TENDENCY BY THE 1945 GENERATION TO PREPARE FOR RETIREMENT. GENERALS PANGGABEAN, JUSUF, AND AMIR MACHMUD RETAIN THEIR PREEMINENT POSITIONS IN THE CABINET AND NEW MILITARY APPOINTEES ARE ALL OLD SOLDIERS (INCLUDING TWO RETIRED). WHILE AN AIR FORCE MAJOR IS APPARENTLY SLATED TO BECOME A JUNIOR MINISTER, HE IS A PHYSICIAN, FORMER YOUTH LEADER AND MURTOPO PROTEGE AND THUS NOT AN ACCEPTABLE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE POST-45 OFFICER CORPS. HIGH MILITARY APPOINTMENTS OUTSIDE THE CABINET ALSO DO NOT MAKE MUCH ROOM FOR NEW BLOOD AT THE NEXT ECHELON, IN FACT VACATING ONLY ONE SENIOR POSITION. THIS MAY EVENTUALLY CAUSE SOME DIS- AFFECTION IN LOWER MILITARY RANKS.

5. OF PARTICULAR INTEREST AMONG THE MILITARY APPOINT- MENTS IS ADMIRAL SUDOMO'S ACCESSION TO THE NATION'S TOP INTERNAL SECURITY JOB, WHICH SUHARTO SINCE THE 1974 RIOTS HAD RESERVED FOR HIMSELF. THE SUDOMO/DARJATMO TEAM IN KOPKAMTIB WILL, WE BELIEVE BE RELATIVELY

BROAD-MINDED AND PRAGMATIC. WE FORESEE CONTINUITY IN
THE PROGRAM FOR THE RELEASE OF POLITICAL DETAINEES
AND IN THE ON-AGAIN-OFF-AGAIN ANTI-CORRUPTION CAMPAIGN.

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6. SUHARTO'S CHOICES FOR KEY PORTFOLIOS IN THE INTERNAL
PLITICAL SECTOR IS LIKELY TO ADD TO POLITICAL DIS-
AFFECTION. THE HARDLINE MINISTER OF INTERIOR AMIRMACHMUD
REMAINS, AND GENERAL PANGGABEAN, WHO IS OF A SIMILAR BENT,
WILL CONTINUE TO PLAY A KEY ROLE IN THIS ARENA FROM HIS
COORDINATING MINISTER ROLE. ALI MURTOPO, IF HE USES
HIS TALENTED ADVISORS IN THE PROPER MANNER, COULD BE
EFFECTIVE IN ESTABLISHING LONG LACKING COMMUNICATIONS
FROM AND TO HIS GOVERNMENT, BUT HIS PERSONAL AMBITIONS
AND PENCCHANT FOR INTRIGUE ARE ALMOST CERTAIN TO INTRUDE ON
THE SCENE AND ADD TO HIS ALREADY UNMATCHED UNPOPULARITY. THE
BIGGEST PROBLEM, HOWEVER, IS LIKELY TO BE THE NEW MINISTER OF EDU-
CATION. DAUD JUSUF IS OF NO MORE THAN AVERAGE INTELLECT IN
OUR ESTIMATE, IS SOMEWHAT DISTANT AND INARTICULATE, AND IS
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WIDELY KNOWN TO BE A MURTOPO PROTEGE. WE THEREFORE CANNOT SEE HOW HE CAN GAIN THE CONFIDENCE OF EITHER STUDENTS OR TEACHERS. THE TWO POLITICAL PARTIES WILL CERAINLY SMART SINCE THEY WERE GIVEN NO SEATS, WHILE GOLKAR'S SEC GEN GOT THE PPP'S FORMER PORTFOLIO AND A GOLKAR CHAIRMAN IS SLATED TO BECOME A JUNIOR MINISTER. THE APPOINTMENT OF A RETIRED GENERAL AND FORMER PRESIDENTIAL ADVISOR TO BE MINISTER OF RELIGION MA WELL BE READ AS A DELIBERATE AFFRONT BY THE MOSLEM SECTOR.

7. ECONOMIC PORTFOLIOS WENT FOR THE MOST PART TO GOOD PEOPLE WITH WHOM WE HAVE GENERALLY WORKED WELL IN THE PAST. SUHUD FOR INDUSTRY, SUDARSONO FOR AGRICULTURE, PURNOMOSIDI FOR PUBLIC WORKS, SUWARDJONO FOR HEALTH AND HARUN ZAIN FOR MANPOWER ALL SEEM TO BE EXCELLENT CHOICES AND DECIDED IMPROVEMENTS OVER THEIR PREDECESSORS. RUSMIN SHOULD DO WELL AT THE COMMUNICATIONS DEPARTMENT, WHICH WE UNDERSTAND HE INTENDS TO STAFF WITH HIS OWN MEN. OUR ONLY REAL DISAPPOINTMENT IN THIS SECTOR WAS TO SEE THE VERY ACCESSIBLE SADLI REPLACED BY THE OFTEN INACCESSIBLE SUBROTO IN THE DEPARTMENT OF MINES. ALI WARDHANAJA'S REAPPOINTMENT AS FINANCE MINISTER WAS A NOT ALTOGETHER AGREEABLE SURPRISE (HIS REPUTATION FOR HONESTY IS NOT STANDING THE TEST OF TIME), BUT WE COULD DO WORSE. WIDJOJO SEEMS TO BE NOW DE JURE AS WELL AS DE FACTO SUPERVISOR OF THE ECONOMIC SECTOR. WHETHER HE AND HIS TECHNOCRAT COLLEAGUES WILL HAVE A STRONGER HAND OVER DAY-TO-DAY MATTERS WILL DEPEND, HOWEVER, ON CHANGES IN DIRECTORS GENERAL, WHO HAVE OPERATIONAL CONTROL OVER MANY SECTORS AND ARE OFTEN MILITARY OFFICERS.

8. MOCHTAR KUSUMAATMADJA'S EXPECTED APPOINTMENT AS
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FOREIGN MINISTER DOES NO NECESSARILY SPELL A NEW ERA IN THAT DEPARTMENT. HIGH LEVEL FON DEPT SOURCES TELL US THAT HE WILL REPORT THROUGH PANGGABEAN, WHO HAS OFTEN BEEN ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER IN THE PAST. VICE PRESIDENT ADAM MALIK'S PROMISED SUBSTATIVE ROLE IN POLICY-MAKING (REF B) IS ALSO HIGHLY LIKELY TO INCLUDE FOREIGN AFFAIRS. WE HAVE LEARNED FROM RELIABLE FONDEPT SOURCE IN FACT THAT HE HAS ASKED THAT HIS FORMER PRESS SPOKESMAN AND ONE OF INDONESIA'S MOST CAPABLE FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS, AMBASSADOR TO GENEVA ALEX ALATAS, BE ASSIGNED TO HIS OFFICE. SOME DILUTION OF MOCHTAR'S

AUTHORITY MIGHT BE TO THE GOOD. HE HAS TENDENCY TO OVER-ESTIMATE HIS CONSIDERABLE INTELLECTUAL CAPACITIES, TO "BADMOUTH" PERSONALITIES AND GOVERNMENTS (INCLUDING THAT OF THE UNITED STATES) IN FRONT OF THEIR FRIENDS, AND CONSEQUENTLY TO ANTAGONIZE INDONES AND FOREIGNERS ALIKE. HIS ENERGIES DURING THE NEXT HALF YEAR WILL IN ANY EVENT BE DIRECTED LARGELY TO FOREIGN GATHERINGS, PARTICULARLY THE LOS CONFERENCE IN GENEVA.

9. BIOGRAPHIC INFORMATION ON NEW MINISTERS WILL BE SUBMITTED SEPTELS.
MASTERS

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: CABINET, PERSONNEL APPOINTMENTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 29 mar 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978JAKART04034
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X2
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780136-0038
Format: TEL
From: JAKARTA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780315/aaaaalvt.tel
Line Count: 236
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 841cfebb-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EA
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 78 JAKARTA 3539, 78 JAKARTA 4033
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 11 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3173023
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT OF NEW INDONESIAN CABINET
TAGS: PINT, PINS, PGOV, ID
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/841cfebb-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014